

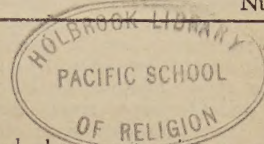
Social Questions Bulletin

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A GREAT CONSERVATIVE By BISHOP LEWIS O. HARTMAN



After 35 years in two terms as the active president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action Bishop Francis J. McConnell recently was elected its honorary chairman. Let us take a look at him. What description fits him best? He is a great conservative in the sense that he has led his church back to essential Methodism and primitive Christianity. A conservative in the primary dictionary meaning of the word is "a preserver; a conservor." Highly distinguished as a scholar, an author, a preacher and an administrator Bishop McConnell's greatest contribution to the Christian movement has been in the field of prophetic religion. Here in a very real sense he has been "a preserver; a conservor." A true conservative will hold fast to the good of the past but he will also keep the doors of his mind wide open for the reception of new truth.

John Wesley was the Walter Rauschenbusch of his day. The founder of Methodism was a man not only of evangelistic zeal, but also of social vision, a great philanthropist, a lover of humanity and a born reformer. His early followers caught his spirit. The story of the "Tolpuddle martyrs," says Sidney Webb, "is the best known episode in early trade union history." George Loveless, a Wesleyan local preacher, and other Wesleyans sought better wages for their group of laborers. They were receiving one dollar and a half a week. These Methodist leaders were tried for "mutiny and conspiracy" and "sentenced to 7 years transportation."—"Not," said the judge, "for anything you have done or as I can prove you intended to do, but for an example to others." This historic incident furnishes a vivid picture of the social interest of the early Wesleyans.

Bishop McConnell in our day has been leading his church back to primitive Methodism. He has done more. He has been leading it back to the religion of Amos and the other Old Testament prophets and to Jesus, the Great Emancipator not only of the individual but also of society. The Bishop's whole social theory centers in Christ. He has never "followed the Communist line."

By his constant insistence upon the teachings of original Christianity this great conservative has helped to hold industrial workers to the church. The part he played in the steel strike controversy, for example, commanded the respect and even the love of the common man. The Negro, likewise, knows that McConnell is his tried and trusted friend. The "gospel for all men" sums up the faith of this distinguished bishop.

He has been a gad-fly to sting the leaders of Methodism out of their complacency. His influence has saved many a young minister from having his soul fattened out of him. In season and out, this bishop has called his fellow Methodists to a vision of wider horizons and to their Christian obligations in the field of social relationship.

What is the church? Is it an end in itself or an instrument for the promotion of the precepts of Christ in both thought and action? Bishop McConnell would readily admit the value and importance of the instrument, but he ever keeps his eyes fixed on the end for which the church was founded and organized. The besetting temptation of bishops is to lose themselves in the details of administration. Their primary business, to be sure, is the government of the church. They are called upon to keep the instrument in good order for the work of the Kingdom. But overconcern for the machine may make mere mechanics out of them. McConnell has escaped this tragic outcome and has remained to this day a prophet of the living God. His influence has been contagious. Bishop Frederick D. Leete in his recently published autobiography, "The Adventures of a Traveling Preacher," in discussing the merits of the system of jurisdiction in the Methodist Church, goes on to say, "At that, the early sessions of these bodies indicated need of more experience and some amendments of plan and practice. The fact that nine of the first jurisdictional conference bishops were members of the self-styled 'Methodist Federation for Social Action' with small groups of supporters in many annual conferences gave rise to considerable criticism."

The white ray of the spirit of Bishop McConnell shines through

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.

the prism of his personality and character to give us numerous glimpses of the kind of man he is. One thinks instantly of the deep insight and wide range of his mind. He was a favorite student of the late Borden Parker Bowne, America's greatest personalist. Today Bishop McConnell stands as one of Methodism's foremost authorities in philosophy and theology. We next mark this man's arresting courage. He has had to face ruthless and unprincipled criticism for his social and economic views. But he has always stood his ground. He has been smeared and maligned but unfailingly has preserved his inner poise and calmness of soul. One correspondent belabored him through a number of pages and wound up his letter with this climax, "You are a first class skunk. Yours in Jesus' name....."

He is a humble man. He never capitalizes on his position to secure preferential treatment. Always ready to see any man, and to talk with him he exemplifies the true democratic spirit. He has ever been a learner. When Edgar S. Brightman set forth his doctrine of the "Finite God" McConnell declared that he must familiarize himself with it and reflect upon its significance and implications. At the general conference of 1912 when he was elected to the episcopacy, some critics regarded him as "an iceberg," and one even said, "all that I will say is that if I were an ocean steamer I would keep out of his way." But for those who know the man he appears as the embodiment of human understanding and sympathy. He is constantly befriending the "underdog." Any kind of human need stimulates in him instant response. They say that a sense of humor is a sign of sanity. If so, the Bishop is one of the sanest of persons. Irish blood flows in his veins. His advice to a newly elected bishop was simply, "Don't take it too seriously." Common sense is uncommon but this man has been blessed with rich stores of it. When one hysterical Ark-Saver cried aloud in wild alarm against liberalism, McConnell's terse comment was, "Nobody is trying to blow up anything."

But for those who desire to know this modern prophet more intimately, there is his autobiography which recently has come from the press.

This "must" book bears the informal title, "By the Way." In fact, it is informal all the way through. It is as if the author had stretched out his feet before an open fire and talked to a friend throughout the long hours of the night. The volume is filled with "inside stuff," behind-the-scenes stories, many of them humorous, all of them interesting. The early chapters deal with the ancestry, home influences and schooling of the future bishop. The Mitchell heresy case in the controversy over the higher criticism is discussed in an intimate way, for McConnell was the professor's counsel. Other chapters cover the period of the author's presidency of DePauw, his travels in Mexico, China and India, the unification of Methodism and the famous steel strike conflict.

The final chapters furnish close-up pen pictures of the bishop's colleagues in the Board and Council of Bishops and of other leaders both within and outside the church. In the concluding chapter—short, but full of meat—Bishop McConnell discusses the appointive system and the outlook for the future of the church. The closing paragraphs of the book present a beautiful tribute to his mother, Bishop Francis J. McConnell even in his retirement, has kept busy teaching, preaching and writing. He will not soon be forgotten, for Methodism has produced no greater leader since John Wesley than this man. The immortality of influence will be amply illustrated in his case.

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REPORT FROM UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY

The important 1952 Assembly session has begun. Your Secretary has attended opening sessions as an MFSA observer. If MFSA members or Chapter delegations can attend, we urge that, and will give every possible aid in securing tickets, interviews, housing. Let us know.

From the outset of the Assembly the growing voice of the rising "have-not" nations, so long exploited and denied, has been pronounced. Unless we persuade our U. S. delegation to take more progressive and vigorous stands on colonial and racial and socio-economic issues, the U. S. will be outvoted in 1952 more than ever before in U. N. history. Against the firm opposition of England, France, Australia, and the Union of South Africa—the overwhelming majority has put on the agenda items dealing with racist oppression and segregation laws in South Africa, and French colonial rule in Tunisia and Morocco. On these issues, as on the question of proposals for more ambitious U. N. programs for economic development of underdeveloped areas, there is today no "automatic majority"; and sharp contradictions in the "free world" are manifest. Mr. Acheson's opening address indicates U. S. aim will be to take a "middle" or "mediating" role between our western white allies and our Asian-Arab-Latin American allies. But moral fence-straddling on colonial, racial, and socio-economic issues is not certain to succeed.

We have a highly financed Voice of America. Our future might be better served by an Ear. Let us listen to the voices of others:

Accept Peaceful Co-existence or Perish

Mexico's Padilla Nervo, outgoing Assembly President, said:

"Our function—particularly the function of the small and middle powers is a function of conciliation which we must insist in undertaking right now, before it is too late.

"The division of the world into two halves—on the one side the classical democracies and, on the other, the peoples' democracies—is the root of all our difficulties. The effects of this split are found everywhere. We find them in each one of our States, and in the United Nations they have constantly hampered our progress.

"Such a state of affairs cannot last many years more. Mankind will not tolerate it, and the United Nations must actively seek the means to bring it to an immediate end if the United Nations is to be free of the menace of a dramatic disillusion which is undermining its very foundations.

"If only the capitalist world and the communist world could convince each other of one thing, that neither of the two plans the destruction of the other, the suspicion which divides them would then be eliminated.

"There must be a formula to attain this. There have always been means to attain an end when the will to attain it exists. If this will does not exist and either of the two worlds, or both, place the objectives of national policy above the aims and principles of the United Nations, and feel that it is not possible to attain these objectives without the annihilation of the other world, then we would have to recognize that the very concept of world community has failed. The subsequent and tremendous war which would follow would be the most complete denial and negation of our aims.

"But if the United Nations can be successful in solving this vital problem, we will have fulfilled the mission for peace which we accepted as a sacred duty over the desolation and the ruins of the Second World War."

Negotiate and Cease Fire

Mr. Jamali of Iraq said:

"My delegation, along with the Syrian, presented a resolution to the Assembly calling on the five permanent Members of the Security Council to meet to discuss their outstanding differences. Although that resolution was adopted unanimously, two years have lapsed with no meeting of the permanent members being achieved. Had such a meeting taken place, Korea would probably have long before been settled.

"We regret the call to cease fire made two years ago by the Arab and Asian group was not accepted. Thousands of lives and an immeasurable amount of sorrow and loss, both moral and material, could have been spared. We sincerely hope that greater efforts shall be exerted to bring about an immediate cease fire, to be followed by a lasting and honourable peace."

The Hungry Are in Revolt

Chile's Mr. Santa Cruz said:

"We are confronted with a veritable world revolution.

"In the last ten years alone, we have been witnesses to the advent of independence for a score of countries, comprising nearly a billion inhabitants, the striving of others to achieve independence, who are knocking urgently at the doors of the United Nations, and we have witnessed bloody social revolutions in more than half of Asia and in

African countries. We have witnessed revolutions by arms or by pacific means in Latin American countries and the struggles of minorities in other parts of the world to prevent being discriminated against. This is an irresistible avalanche.

"The reason is quite simple. In these countries there dwell one billion six hundred million individuals whose standard of living ranges between poverty and extreme misery. Income per capita in such countries ranges between twenty and two hundred dollars, the average falling below sixty dollars per annum.

"Year by year, the Secretary-General in his economic report tells us that the chasm between the wealth of the industrial countries and that of the under-developed countries is widening in a dangerous manner.

"These 1,600 million human beings—poorly nourished, smitten by disease, with a life expectancy not half of that in the United States or Great Britain—are not really poor. On the contrary, in the countries in which these people live there is an immense natural wealth which is either not exploited or inadequately exploited—or else the nationals of such countries do not receive the benefits to which they are entitled as the owners of that land and as the principal factor, through their labor, in the exploitation of such resources.

"We have been lacking in conviction and decision among the leaders of the world to envisage the problem and to plan its solution with a criterion based not on the past, but on the middle of the twentieth century. They continue to follow an illusion and to be concerned with a political and economic concept which is completely out of date. They believe that the problem can be solved by the use of private capital, and do not wish to take part in an authentic economic development. They cannot apply themselves to non-profit-making industries and they believe that nineteenth century methods of industrial development can be applied today in the intensive development of India, or Indonesia, or Africa, or Brazil, or Chile.

"The leaders of the world have a duty to present a new and bold program of economic development in under-developed countries.

"The program must necessarily be complemented by a new and different policy with regard to raw materials and international trade.

"Nothing can be obtained through economic and technical assistance if the economically under-developed countries must continue to suffer from the present policies of control and the fixing of prices for raw materials by a few prosperous countries, as well as from the present pattern of international trade which impoverishes them more every day. To believe otherwise is to be childishly illusioned.

"The essential elements of an adequate program of economic development as outlined above can be obtained only if the program is executed through the United Nations. Only in this way will the countries which have been helped feel absolutely sure that their interests will not be sacrificed for the benefit of other countries . . . that the principle is to raise the standard of living of peoples and not to ensure that primary raw materials are available at low cost to industrialized countries."

Colonialism and White Supremacy Must Go

Mr. Jamali of Iraq echoed the voice of many when he said:

"In this atomic age, the ideas of one world and the equality of men irrespective of race, color, creed or geographical position are most basic for our survival and common action. If the nineteenth century ideas of colonialism, superiority of the white man and the white man's burden are not finally abandoned by the colonial Powers, there is no hope for attaining peace, harmony and co-operation in the modern world and the seeds of war and unrest will germinate among nations. For over two centuries Europe has dominated many parts of Asia and Africa. Now both Asia and Africa are rising. Political consciousness, the desire for freedom and independence, the desire for a place under the sun, and the rejection of foreign domination and exploitation are the order of the day in Asia and in some parts of Africa."

ERIE MFSA ASKS KOREAN CEASE FIRE

The Erie Conference MFSA Chapter held its fall meeting in Meadville, Pa., Oct. 23, for worship, an address by the Executive Secretary, group discussion on social issues and Chapter business. By unanimous vote the Chapter endorsed the MFSA Executive Committee stand for an immediate and complete cease fire in Korea and for appropriate civilian negotiation and settlement of the one remaining issue in dispute. The Chapter is sending its position to the presidential candidates, to President Truman, and to all congressional and senatorial candidates in the Erie Conference area.

All MFSA member responses to the Executive Committee action for Korean peace, as reported in the October Bulletin, have been favorable. What is your position on this all-important current social question? What have you done about it? What has your MFSA Chapter or other Church group done?

COMMITTEE NAME & OFFICE ACTIONS PROTESTED

When Is a Methodist Not a Methodist?

Members of the Federation are being polled about a change of name by reason of General Conference action. This raises in my mind the question, when is a Methodist not a Methodist? It would seem to be in the area of social action. I am engaged in assisting a fellow-minister in a Methodist evangelistic campaign. We are rightly proud of expressing ourselves as Methodists in this program. There is no hint of disapproval as Methodists officially and unofficially band themselves together to win persons into the fellowship of the Methodist Church. What would happen if some of these Methodists should be zealous enough to band themselves together as Methodists to evangelize segments of our social order, to engage in action for peace, or better race relations, and to deal more specifically with one or more of the tension areas? No doubt, there would be many who would challenge the right of these Methodists to say that they were Methodists while involved in these endeavors. When is an American not an American? Does he cease to be an American if he ventures on foreign soil? This has not been my experience. I was an American in Egypt, Palestine, Greece and China while engaged in a program of relief and rehabilitation. It would seem to be an obligation of Methodists to be federated together for Christian social action—to enter into areas alien to the Kingdom of God and win them to Christ. This is a difficult dilemma which has tragic implications. It would be well to think about it. I am trying honestly to answer this question. When is a Methodist not a Methodist?

I have had a compulsion as a Methodist Christian to interest myself in areas which I am sure were close to the mind of Jesus. Now I am asked to drop the word Methodist from an organization to which I have belonged since 1924. Honestly, I can't see the logic. Do you? There are many angles to this request. For instance, it seems all right to substitute the word Christian. What is the implication of this? Has the word Methodist a significance that is not Christian? Or has the word Christian become so generalized to have lost its significance? It would be well for the Federation Bulletin to open its columns to a wide discussion of this issue. I believe it is important for all Methodists, whether they be Methodist Christians or Christian Methodists or just Methodists.

—EDGAR WAHLBERG

Committee Procedures Challenged

Here are my comments, as a member, on the procedures taken concerning changing our name and office.

Minority Action. The membership is voting on an action taken by a very small minority of the Executive Committee. If, because of distances and expense, we cannot require a quorum, then we should require a mail vote of the total committee, on the basis of a digest of the discussion at the meeting, before any matter is referred to the membership for action. Then the members should be briefed on the main points pro and con. On matters as important as this there should be as much face to face discussion as is possible—in cities, towns, and rural areas—before votes are cast. At present many, if not most, members are voting on the bare institutional question of compliance with, or rejection of the General Conference request without regard to the national consequences or the national pressures that produced it.

The Resolution. The first sentence of the final paragraph evidently relates to the following sentence. But it also—of course unintentionally—loads the ballot in favor of acquiescence to the expressed will of General Conference. What other acquiescence has there been except our acceptance of the designation "Unofficial"? That should have made the present request unnecessary.

The second sentence suggests another possible reply than the one provided in the suggestion of names which keep the word "Methodist" without any implication of involving the Church. A request with no legal right behind it is deprived of moral authority if made without due investigation and hearing, after only limited discussion, and in an atmosphere of prejudice created by outside interference and pressure (the circulation of the statement of the Un-American Activities Committee). This interference, and the forces that produced it, have created the alleged "confusion and embarrassment" on which the request bases itself. How will surrender to these forces, both inside and outside the church, help to secure the "vindication" the resolution confidently looks for? This lack of moral authority behind the request would seem to justify another possible reply than either compliance, refusal, or a change in name that keeps our right to call ourselves Methodists with a slightly different connotation than "The Methodist . . ." Is it not possible to inform the Council of Bishops, as the ad interim authority, that desirous as we are to comply with the requests of General Conference, this time we feel we have not been fully heard nor fairly judged. Therefore we request that body to appoint a commission to investigate the whole matter and frame a report for the next General Conference; meantime we will stress our "Unofficial" nature so emphatically there can be no excuse for misunderstanding or confusion. This naturally would give us an opportunity for education.

The Office. I feel that a small minority of the Executive Committee has not the right to order this change. While technically the whole Committee has this right, it is so related to the change of name, that I think it would ethically have been much better to submit this too, with the necessary data, to the members.

—HARRY F. WARD

Editor's Note: We have published Brother Wahlberg's protest, as requested—especially since he is an MFSA vice-president and one of a number of Executive Committee members unable to attend the Sept. 2 meeting, which recommended a name change and ordered a formal membership ballot. Dr. Ward's protest, we also publish, not only because, as an outgoing National Committee member, he was legally entitled to protest any outgoing Executive Committee action; but also, of course, because he is one of the men who founded the Federation in 1907, and served as its Secretary for thirty-two years.

A position different from both Brother Wahlberg's and Brother Ward's was, of course, taken by Executive Committee members present at the Sept. 2 meeting; and that different position (on which we have been acting) has also been shared with the membership—both in the October Bulletin, and also in the mail ballot sent by first class mail even earlier to all members.

Whatever your view (and let no one say we are all of one mind!), if you have further contribution to a Bulletin discussion of these issues proposed by Brother Wahlberg, we shall welcome that.

MFSA Chapters have also differed. The Chicago Chapter took strong chapter action against a name change, while the Oregon Chapter took just the opposite stand.

DISARM FOR ABUNDANT LIFE

Lord Boyd Orr, former President of the U. N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization, told the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government in London in October:

"It has been said that if we are going to apply science to produce food to eliminate disease from the world, we will need to give up something in the highly industrialized wealthy countries. I am prepared to give up something. I am prepared to give up war.

"If the present effort of rearmament, the terrific force which is being spent on it by practically every country in the world, were directed towards constructive ends, within 10 years there would be an abundance of food for everybody. This would be easy to do if every nation were existing alone. The trouble is that the world is now so small that the nations must agree to co-operate to do these things or they will fight."

ACCEPT CO-EXISTENCE FOR AN END TO WAR

The World Federation of United Nations Associations at its Assembly in September in Geneva:

"Considering that the ways and means of disarmament pose not only military, economic and financial problems, but also and above all a political and a moral problem the solution of which is possible only in an atmosphere of mutual trust and security, demanding in the future a more sincere collaboration and the peaceful co-existence of peoples having different and even opposing economic and political systems . . .

"Asks all the member-Associations of the W.F.U.N.A. to undertake an effective action in regard to public opinion and to the Governments of their respective countries in order to make these principles triumph; and recommends to them, in this regard, to get in touch with all organizations and associations with the same aim."

FOR FRIENDSHIP MISSION TO SOVIET UNION

With a goal similar to that of Lord Orr and the United Nations Associations, the 1952 National Methodist Federation for Social Action Membership Meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"We commend the 1948 General Conference for its peace-serving statement on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. We ask that the 1952 General Conference reaffirm this statement and implement it by endorsing a Methodist Church mission to the Soviet Union for the purpose of decreasing tension and increasing understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. We suggest that this mission be composed of a minimum of one minister and one layman from each of the six jurisdictions of The Methodist Church."

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ECONOMIC TRENDS IN EUROPE

A good friend whom we greatly admire, questioned in good faith the accuracy of our summary in the June Bulletin of the United Nations *World Economic Report* 1950-51. We responded by asking our friend to consult the U. N. document itself (which he had not seen) and then write for the Bulletin a critique showing any inaccuracy in our summary, if there be any. We also asked him to cite any misrepresentation, if such there be, resulting from omission by us of facts reported by the U. N. as equally applicable to all sections of Europe, if we reported or implied that those facts were only applicable to one section.

We have and respect our obligation to Bulletin readers to discover and correct any unintended factual inaccuracy or misrepresentation. As for our review of the U. N. *World Economic Report*, we have received no evidence that it contains any inaccuracy or misrepresentation.

Indeed, the United Nations has provided us with more recent factual information, strongly buttressing our belief that socially conscious Westerners should observe, and be concerned by, current economic trends.

We refer to the latest report of the Economic Commission for Europe, headed by the distinguished western social scientist, Gunnar Myrdal, *Economic Bulletin for Europe* (\$.50), for the first quarter of 1952. Relevant highlights of this latest U. N. economic report are indicated by the following quotes:

"The first quarter of 1952 was in all too many countries a fairly close replica of its predecessor. Industrial employment and production as a whole stagnated or fell . . . in all the big western European industrial countries except France, increases in . . . defense programs being still insufficient to offset declines in . . . consumer goods. Unemployment, though still in almost all countries low by the standards of pre-war depressions, increased slightly. . . . The volume of consumption continued to fall."

As for balance of payment and dollar shortage difficulties the report states: "In transactions with the United States, Western Europe as a whole lost gold and dollars to the tune of \$800 million in the second half of 1951, and the drain continued unabated during the first quarter of 1952."

Internal Developments in Western Europe

"The first quarter of 1952, like its two predecessors, was a period of stagnation in nearly all branches of the retail trade and of actual depression in some. . . . There seems to have been little improvement since. Durable goods were the worst hit: in all except one of the countries . . . consumption of clothing and household goods appears to have been actually lower in the first quarter of 1952 than it had been two years earlier, before the Korean buying spree."

"Textile sales have continued to be the most depressed. . . ."

"In several countries (Belgium, Denmark, Sweden) even food consumption appears to have been less in the first months of 1952 than in the corresponding period of 1950 and when this is not the case, the level was generally lower than it had been in the first quarter of 1951. . . ."

"Prices of food and fuel have risen on the whole. In most countries the net effect in the first quarter was a small rise in the cost of living. . . ."

"Levelling off of consumers' and foreign buyers' demands had already shown their counterpart in a slowing-down and even reversal of industrial expansion in most countries during the second half of 1951. This trend continued during the first months of 1952. In only two of the major industrial countries of western Europe was industrial production in the first quarter of 1952 appreciably higher than in the corresponding period of 1951. . . . Simultaneously with decline in the production of a number of consumer goods for lack of demand, coal and steel continued to expand."

This latest U. N. *Economic Bulletin* is exceedingly sketchy in reporting latest economic developments in eastern Europe. It makes the general observation:

"Industrial production in the eastern European countries continued to expand rapidly during the first quarter of 1952; recorded increases over the level of the corresponding period of 1951 averaged about 20 per cent. The global plans were in each case just about fulfilled. The areas of under-fulfillment were mainly situated in the basic industries; hard coal, pig-iron and steel in Czechoslovakia and Poland; fertilizers in eastern Germany; heavy machinery in Czechoslovakia, eastern Germany and Hungary. The output of each of these products increased substantially, as did that of electric power throughout the area, but not enough to prevent shortages."

The E. C. E. *Bulletin* states these shortages "appear to stem from . . . ambitious defense and investment programs."

INDIA PLEADS FOR PEACE

The All-India Congress Party which governs India under Nehru, in September called on the world's major powers (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, France, and the Peoples Republic of China) to hold a Five Power Conference to settle their differences and begin world disarmament.

The Congress Party also supported the mass resistance in South Africa to the Malan government's racist segregation legislation, and the Tunisian independence struggle in North Africa.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Behind the decisions the U. N. Assembly has committed itself to make concerning Korea is the push of its previous actions; the commitment to war on inadequate information; the delegation of military authority to the U. S.; leaving to that authority the decision on crossing the 38th Parallel; permitting that authority alone to conduct the cease fire negotiations.

At the last session our government prevented discussion of the Korean issue on the ground that it would imperil those negotiations. Now that it has withdrawn from them, and the slowed down war is moving into full force with casualties raised from 500 to 1200 a week, it asks support for its conduct. At the same time an Assistant Secretary of State, in a speech here, calls for troops from non-contributing U. N. members, under the tactful slogan "No free rides to collective security." Do these things mean another blank check which can be filled in with full scale war and actions against China which will make a general conflict unavoidable?

Or is there to be a full discussion of what our generals have done and said, and why? Are we and the world to know why we refuse to abide by the Geneva convention concerning war prisoners? Or are we expected to believe that our authorities are actuated by pure moral considerations, that political and strategical objectives do not enter in? That would be as far from reality as calling a war with thousands of casualties a police action.

The refusal to hear the North Koreans and the Chinese because they are fighting against the U. N. is a sinister omen. The generals can hear them. What sense does this make, except bitter evidence that by entering a civil war the U. N. disqualified itself as mediator—its primary function? The first step toward remedying that tragic error is evidently to order resumption of negotiations under civilians, for the basic issues are political. This is what as much as is left of the Protestant conscience is now asking for. If it is refused the U. N. will soon learn that broad is the way that leads to destruction, along with the Roman version—easy is the descent into Hades. Already voices are raised in our highest military circles asking that we stop wasting time in the U. N. and put all our strength into N.A.T.O.

The U. N. discussion of the Korean issue has now to include the charges against us of germ warfare in North Korea and Manchuria. The report of the International Commission of Scientists appointed by the World Peace Council makes it impossible to longer answer these charges by blanket denials. The scope of this investigation, the scientific temper of the report, the restraint of its findings, the qualifications of its authors, require rebuttal by facts if they can be produced. This is made imperative by the recent statement of our delegate in the U. N. Disarmament Commission, that the U. S. would not yield its right to use bacterial and similar weapons against the aggressor because aggression was a greater evil than these weapons.

Our request for a neutral commission does not meet the situation. We know that the other side will not accept the International Red Cross because of its record; nor any commission appointed by the U. N. because it is at war with them. What they will accept is a commission of scientists and jurists chosen by their Red Cross and ours, with members added by agreement between these. This is what should be done, with a moderator, as in industrial disputes, whose powers are limited to recommendations and persuasion plus report to the public in case of final disagreement.

In this issue, as in the wider one of cease fire, truce and the future of Korea, the U. N. is in danger of losing completely its hope and possibility of being the meeting ground where peaceful coexistence of differing economic and political systems could be secured. That position it has been losing ever since the U. S. began using it as battle ground for its cold war objective of containing communism. That policy rules out peaceful coexistence because it requires the opposite of the conditions for attaining that difficult position. They are disarmament, mutual economic and cultural relations. Containing communism requires rearmament, prohibition of trade and cultural intercourse.

By the logic of its nature and movement this objective is now being expanded by our most fervent anti-communists into the liberation of 800,000,000 captive souls in bondage to communist led governments, by infiltration of intelligence agents and saboteurs. This means plotting counter-revolution; then intervention in more civil wars; then the Armageddon of atomic, chemical, bacterial warfare. It is nothing but suicidal madness. It does however throw into sharp relief the alternatives before us. They are peaceful co-existence or war. Not long ago official Protestantism was standing for peaceful co-existence. While the anti-communist mania that would make that impossible has been developing, it has been silent on this point. If the religious conscience expects help from the U. N., now is the time to save the U. N. from the present policy of the U. S. by rousing our people to the necessity and possibility of peaceful co-existence.

H. F. W.